1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

It is also clear that within the kin group collateral lines are merged with the direct line of descent, relatives being equated in the parents' generation. Relatives more than three generations distant are designated by grandparent and grandchild terms. Finally there is little recognition of relatives by marriage. 601 602

I have failed after persistent inquiries to find any trace of special social relations or obligations between those in any two categories, other than the universal relation between parents and children and those between camp mates.[1]

Foreign Indians are sometimes adopted informally as *sáldjĭgé*, a man's older brother's son, or *djĭkdoĭgé*, a man's male cross-cousin, in preference to other relationships. Children of relatives are adopted, but do not assume new relationships. There are no friendship adoptions as at Zuñi, and no ceremonies of adoption. 597 [648]

Marriage

Marriage was normally monogamous, although there were some polygamous unions. One may not marry a blood relative. Should a couple innocently marry and someone later discover that they are related by blood, they would feel ashamed. They would not separate, but people would always condemn their union. There is no notion that monsters spring from such marriages. So much for theory. Crook had lived with Callie for about a month when the old people said that they were related, so they separated. Both have since re-married. From the chart showing the inheritance of chieftainship (p. 242) it appears that Crook's father and Callie's paternal grandmother are cross-cousins. They may be more closely connected through their mothers. My informants were aware that blood relationships are forgotten after a very few generations, and that most, if not all intratribal marriages ignored some remote and unknown degree of relationship. By checking over the agency census with Jess I find that the females, including children, he could not marry were invariably blood relatives, numbering forty-two. Mark said he could not marry thirty-eight women, four of whom were not related to him in any way and five where the recognized bond was one of affinity. For example, he said he could not marry Nina, his younger brother's wife. It turned out, however, that he would not marry one of these women, another was "too fat," and so on. I found no other hint of 588 [595] [588] [684]

[1] Specifically, there is no special relation with the maternal grandfather, as implied, e.g., in some Plateau-Pueblo tales. Incidentally it may be noted that in cases of matrilocal residence the maternal grandfather of the children born to a couple is the head of the family group. [592]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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When I married the first time I gave the girl's parents one big blanket and a black woven Hopi shirt trimmed with red, and a lot of dried deer or antelope meat: just these three things. I was then about twenty-five years old, a pretty big man. In those days the old people said they did not want young boys to marry; they said they were old enough when they were grown men, young men. The girls should be the same, they said, perhaps seventeen years old. Now the boys and girls marry too young.[1] 583 582

In 1919 Gathawinga, aged fourteen, married twenty-two year old Wallin. When her father Panamida returned to the canyon several days later, he broke off the match on the grounds that Gathawinga was too young. He had no objections to Wallin.

It does not appear that the presents are a purchase price; they seem rather to be in the nature of a compensatory present given partly in return for the girl, that is, like any other exchange of presents, and partly as a gift to establish friendly relations. The only difficulty with this view is that it is said that if a woman re-married within a short time of her husband's death, his relatives might demand presents from her new spouse. This would not happen, however, if a considerable period had elapsed, one, two, or more years. 583 587

The bearing of illegitimate children seems not to have been a barrier to marriage. Mary was delivered of James by an unknown father after she married Bert. Bert treats James precisely as he does his own sons. 848

Marriage with a woman who had been previously married was "much easier." The man stayed only a week or two in her camp. Generally no presents were given, but if the man was rich, he gave something. The woman's relatives exercised some control in such cases also. A step-father treated his stepchildren precisely as he would his own. 587

A man may marry an older or younger brother's widow, just as any other man may. For example, Smiley's second wife, T'ɛ̄kàm"ladwà, was the widow of his elder brother, Kūfó. The levirate (*sa'yógd*) is not compulsory; it makes no difference whether or not there are children. The sororate was not practised, but it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments.

A man could have two or three wives (*tahawigìgd*, having two wives, *hawdgd*, two; *tahamúgìgd*, having three wives, *hamúgd*, three.) One 595

[1] This is a popular fallacy, but it is encountered by the assertion that illegitimate births were extremely rare.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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595 informant stated that the wives might either be sisters or unrelated: one arrangement was as harmonious as another. But another informant denied that sisters could be plural wives. Seven households in which there were two wives were remembered, four of them belonging to men now living, and I surmise that this approaches the number existing during any one man's lifetime. These informants had heard of three wives, but had never seen such a family.

A man who wants to take a second wife consults his first wife and may abide by her decision. Of course, he does not go to live with the second wife's family, but takes her directly to his establishment. The presents given in this case would amount to about the same value as those given his first wife's parents. Both wives or all three live in a single house with their husband, even when they have large families. They might, however, have separate houses in one camp. There seems to be no difference in the treatment of the two wives. When their husband dies [768] they separate, returning to their relatives with their children. Co-wives 428 probably share equally in the inheritance, for the disposition of property seems to be influenced chiefly by the number of their children. The impression is that the heritage is really that of the children. This is [587] confirmed by the general practice, for if a widow re-marries soon, the inheritance reverts to her children; it does in any event when they are old enough to enjoy it.

595 In one plural marriage for which there is definite information Manakadja had already married Gwegwe0gwaia at the time the Paiute took up residence in the Walapai country. He sent her away and took a Paiute wife at Pine Spring. Later he brought his bride to the canyon and took Gwegwe0gwaia back, living with both of them until the Paiute woman died.

586 There is said to be no divorce, but I recorded other instances of arbitrary separation. Wa"kwanima sent his first wife away, after she had borne a son, Tcikapaniga, because she was "no good." He then took two wives by whom he had a number of children, Pete, Mark, etc. (see the genealogy, p. 392.) When he died the widows returned to their relatives with their little children. These children regard each other alike as siblings, the divorce of Tcikapaniga's mother makes no difference to them. In fact, Pete lived with his eldest brother before he was married. Other cases are Pagadjahuda and Supai Jack's father who separated because they were angry, and Crook's Yavapai and Roger's Walapai wives who ran off home.

586 One informant stated that a wife was not divorced even in case of 684 adultery; the husband would thrash her partner in shame with his fists,

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

but he would not attempt to kill him. He would kill the man's horses. Anybody might interfere to put a stop to this. Another informant said that the guilty woman would be beaten and divorced: her husband would keep their children. 586 [684]

Divorce for barrenness had never been heard of. If a wife proved barren (*plk'iglθaalddj*, barren women) the husband would take a second wife in order to have children. A quarrelsome wife, one who pulls her husband's hair, bites, scratches or pinches him, destroys his property, etc., would be turned out. [595]

If a man maltreated his wife, beat and stunned her, her relatives would interfere, admonishing him to treat her well. She might retaliate by throwing away the food she cooked, or in an extreme case by running away to her parents or to another man. If a girl returns to her parents without cause, her mother would send her back. A Havasupai woman married to such a Walapai runs away every year with a different man, though the Indian police bring her back to her husband. The Havasupai consider her justified; their head chief, taking over the function of the agent, recently married her to another Walapai. However, it is generally recognized that she is a light character. 593 684

Marriages were not often contracted with foreigners. The situation today represents the condition fairly well: there are six Walapai women and one Yavapai married to Havasupai, while a few natives are wives of Walapai. Walapai women are considered the marital equivalents of native women; a view undoubtedly induced by a unity of culture, speech, blood, and by friendship. I was told that Hopi women were never married, but Cushing saw one there in 1881.[1] Occasionally Paiute and Navaho women were married.[2] Other tribes were too distant to furnish wives. Havasupai men did not steal girls from other tribes because it was too dangerous. I doubt that Yavapai women were married in the old days, because they were the chief enemies. 582 648

Walapai and Navaho girls were married when they accompanied their families down into Cataract Canyon to trade at harvest time. Such women sometimes stayed only a short time and then went home. In such marriages a Havasupai man did not live and work with his wife's parents. Alliances of this type might be casually formed, as in the following instance of a lost Navaho woman told by Sinyella. Illicit relations with Walapai, Navaho, Hopi, and Paiute were common. [439] [586] [837]

When I was so big [about fifteen years old] we were camped just a little above Lee Canyon: many Havasupai were camped up there. Six or seven men, my father,

[1] (a), 551.
[2] Walapai and Paiute are said to intermarry.

I had not been at the school long enough to acquire the needed information, it was evident that I would have to submit a report of some kind.

To learn the form and material embodied in such accounts, I studied the reports on file, beginning with the one drawn up in 1895 by the teacher who had established the school. He and his farmer, with the help of the Indians, had hauled the stone and put up the buildings in which we now lived. When he arrived in the canyon, after the drive from Seligman and the descent of a far more primitive trail than we had traveled, he found no shelter for himself and wife, nothing to work with, nothing to work for except the Indians, whose children he described as "wearing a covering of grease, mescal juice, and filth, fearfully and wonderfully combined." After he knew them better and had recovered from the shock of that first impression, he wrote of them as "sturdy, simple mountaineers, who simply asked to be let alone." When he reported: "Death by perishing from thirst on the desert is the punishment to women for promiscuous amours," I knew that the Havasupai were stark realists, daring and stoical, and I would not have a dull moment.

I also came across an order for one thousand eight hundred pounds of dried peaches which I must purchase from the Indians and ship to other Indian schools for use on the children's tables, and an order for twenty cords of wood to be bought and shipped. I learned, too, that the superintendent must co-operate with the officials of the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve, who controlled the plateau region surrounding the small Havasupai Reservation. There were many infringements of law by the Indians, who claimed the reserve as their age-old hunting ground, and the officials made occasional trips to the school to request an investigation.

Among the orders was one prohibiting polygamy. The busy, contented Havasupai seemed so free from the evils afflicting the Walapai that I was convinced that no man in the tribe claimed two wives, although I knew that some of the older Walapai men had two or more. These Indians apparently had no knowledge of

2:11167 Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Havasupai Home Life

595 I had discovered by this time that there were polygamous marriages among the Havasupai, and often wondered how much they disturbed the serenity of the homes involved. And then one day during a visit to the village, Head Chief Manakadja led me to one of two brush wickiups set in the same yard. Entering, with me, he pointed to an elderly woman sitting in a corner, shelling corn, and said laconically, "Old wife." Returning to the yard, we entered the second wickiup. A woman much younger than the "old wife" sat within, weaving a basket. In the same matter-of-fact fashion Manakadja pointed to her and remarked, "Young wife," then hurried through the low doorway to identify, by name, his children playing in the yard, several of whom were enrolled in school.

595 648 The innocent way in which he had called my attention to his two households made it difficult for me to break the news which surely would be a staggering blow to him. But I could not ignore the Commissioner's order to field officials regarding polygamous relations without taking a chance of being called to account. So I explained, "The Great Father in Washington made a paper talk; he said an Indian may have one wife, only one. You have two."

Manakadja stood for a bewildered moment just staring at me, then he asked, "What they do, wife, chillen, I no keep? Where go?"

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

That was one phase of the situation the Great Father had not thought out; neither had I. The old wife and her children would be the ones to go, and she had borne her share of trouble. I told him to keep both families, and give them equal care. I did not report his case to Washington, nor did I seek advice as to the best method for disposing of surplus wives and children.

The Indians said that Manakadja had first married the older woman, a member of his tribe. Years later, while camped on a mesa, he met a young Paiute woman whom he wanted for his wife. Whether the Paiute girl objected to sharing his affections with another or whether he had tired of the "old wife," he discarded her. Later, they were reconciled and he established homes for the two women in the same dooryard.

Leslie Spier relates a story,* told him by Sinyella, the elderly tribesman, which helped me realize that not all broken marriages involved the heartache I had imagined.

While hunting on the mesa, Sinyella's father met a young Navaho woman, living in a brush shelter of her own contriving. She must have been a venturesome girl to have walked across the snow-covered desert from "away back there" to her camp site, searching for Navaho relatives whom she had heard were camped in this region. The girl had anticipated her need for a campfire by carrying the Indian's "slow match." This was made by rubbing cedar bark until soft and pliable, binding it with yucca leaves into a slender rope, and igniting one end. The rope was carried in a loose coil. By blowing on the smoldering end, fire could easily be lighted.

Sinyella's father wanted the girl and took her to his home as his wife. Years later, some Hopi men came into the canyon to trade. The woman slipped away to the Hopi village and became the wife of one of the visiting men. Her Havasupai husband followed, demanding her return. When the Hopi man refused to let the woman go, Sinyella's father stated his alternative: "You must give me something; then you can have her." The "some-

* *Havasupai Ethnography*, American Museum of Natural History.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

its equivalent he might have had by being kind and complaisant to the desires of the young couple.

The Havasupais are polygamists, and believe in having as many wives as they can buy and support. At the time of his death Kohot Navaho had three wives living with him, and I personally know of two others that he had discarded on account of old age. When Hotouta, his oldest son, was living, his mother was a thrust-out member of Navaho's household. She was almost blind and decrepit, and Navaho with a wave of his hand and ten words had dismissed her from his bed and board. Hotouta had a tender heart and used to speak very bitterly about the injustice of this custom which allowed an old and helpless wife thus mercilessly to be discarded.

Shortly before Navaho's death his oldest wife evidently "ruled the roost," and it certainly must have been by other means than her physical beauty. And yet she was vain of her good looks, for, when I made her husband's photograph, she became my strong ally in persuading him to sit before the camera, on condition that I would make a "sun-picture" of her own beautiful physiognomy and enchanting *tout ensemble*. When I made the photograph, she secured her petticoats between her legs in such a manner as to make them appear like rude trousers, and when I commented upon the unfeminine appearance and asked her to spread out her skirts in orthodox style, she boxed my ears with a manner at once decisive, haughty, and jocular, and bade me proceed as she was or not at all. The second wife was a meek kind of a creature, who seemed to be entirely under the dominion of wife number one; but the youngest wife, a buxom woman of twenty-three

S:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

595 157 or four summers, evidently knew how to hold her own, for she once or twice refused to obey wife number one, though she readily obeyed the same request when given by Navaho personally. This woman is now married to my old host, Waluthama.

582 684 Marriage with a white man is unknown among the Havasupais, and unlawful cohabitation with one is punishable by death.

582 The question of marrying is becoming a more serious one with the Havasupais each year. While occasionally a man will marry a Wallapai squaw, there is a strong sentiment against marriage outside of the tribe. Yet the number of the tribe is so small, and intermarriage has so long been carried on between them, that it is no uncommon thing for a young man or woman to be debarred from choice in marriage. At the present time Goō-fwho's son can marry but one girl in the whole tribe without violating their own laws of consanguinity, about which no people are more particular.

622 156 The present Head Chief — Kohot — of the tribe is Man-a-ka-cha, a heavily built man, who is popular with the younger element. But he suffers much in comparison with the former Kohot, Navaho, who died in 1898.

[142] Kohot Navaho's was a strong face, marked and furrowed with bearing the cares of his little nation. A firm chin, powerful nose, gentle mouth, courageous forehead, eyes which were once fiery as well as piercing, but of late years had little of their primitive fire, — these gave a key to his character, in which firmness, courage, bravery, and gentle tenderness were commingled. His whole demeanor was of dignity and pride. No Euro-

585 kinsmen in the remarriage of his widow. However, it appears that both goods and services were considered gifts rather than payments. While a man usually considered it an obligation to compensate the bride's parents, he was able to marry without so doing, and while parents normally expected to receive compensation, they did not, and probably could not, have demanded it. Perhaps the meager economy was responsible for this imprecise arrangement; in any event, a man did not have to delay marriage until he could afford a bridal payment. Nor did the absence of a gift or the value of what was given significantly affect either the public prestige of a bride or groom, the position of a bride in her husband's household, or the relationship between the groom and his wife's family. The aspect of obligation does not make either goods or services rendered a price since gift giving also
[181] usually involves obligation. This absence of a fixed pattern of rights and duties on each side is consistent with the general lack of precise definition in the total culture.

Forms of Marriage

587 As described in the foregoing section, the levirate and the sororate were sometimes practiced in former times, the levirate occurring more frequently.

595 While the predominant type of marriage was monogamy, polygyny was fairly common. Spier (1928, 224) states that seven polygynous households were remembered by his informants and that, presumably, this would approximate the number of such unions during a life span. All seven of these men had two wives each. Spier's informants had heard of men with three wives but personally knew no such family.

One informant now in middle age recalls five men who had two wives each, and a sixth man, Chief Navaho, who died about 1900, had three wives. However, unknown to present informants, Chief Navaho may have lived with only two of these women at one time. Spier's informants were Navaho's contemporaries and probably would not have overlooked mentioning him if he had lived with all three women simultaneously.

Only those men who had much could afford two wives, and, reportedly, polygynous households "had enough but were a little poor." Some men married a second wife to have the extra help while others "liked another woman for herself." The first wife was considered the head wife, but in practice both wives were about equal. If the women constantly had trouble, it was held that the second wife should leave, but usually a husband decided to keep the one he "loved best" or the one who "acted nicer." Since the women shared the same hogan or occupied two hogans in a common camp area, it was desirable that they live in peace. Sisters, reportedly, got along better than unrelated wives. However, Spier's informants thought "one arrangement was as harmonious as another" (Spier, 1928, 224).

[586] When a man wished to take a second wife, he might or might not consult his first wife. He usually did as he pleased in any event. If his wife refused

or if she disliked his marrying a second wife, she could leave him. Her relatives would not insist that she return to him in this case. 595 [586]

Arrangements for a second wife were carried out in the same manner as those for a first wife, except that temporary matrilocal residence was omitted. If a man asked for his wife's sister, her parents might let her go without a gift, but usually they expected something.

New polygynous unions, discouraged by administrative personnel and missionaries, were not formed in reservation times until very recently. An example now exists which, in the absence of restraints, undoubtedly would be a polygynous marriage. The man in question has been married for approximately 20 years to a childless woman. Since about 1952, he has divided his time between this wife and a younger woman who has three illegitimate children. The last two, and possibly the first child (born in 1949), are publicly credited to this man, who readily claims paternity. The man has repeatedly left his legal wife, only to return to her, and, on the other hand, he has had open rifts with the mother of his children. Both women have voiced differing opinions concerning what they want the man to do about the situation. Reportedly, they have also had changes of attitude toward one another, first maligning, then sympathizing by turns. Personal meetings between the two are infrequent because they live in different communities. It was not learned whether or not they seek to avoid such meetings. During recent years, the man has spent short periods alternately with them, but he actually maintains a residence separate from both women. Public sentiment is that he should divorce his wife and marry the second woman, "because she had all those children for him and his wife has none." [208]

Exchange marriage is said to have been common in former times. Ideally, two brothers married two sisters or siblings of opposite sex married a similar pair. Occasionally, other classes of relatives made exchange marriages. Of the latter type was an exchange marriage, occurring about 1910, in which cousins of opposite sex, A and B, married a niece and uncle, C and D, respectively. In this example, B was an orphan who had been reared by her cousin, A, and his wife. When A was left a widower, he and D, also a widower, arranged the exchange. The men were both about 20 years older than the two girls. 582 583

C had been reared by her own parents, who were still living at her marriage. Because she already had a lover, C objected violently to the marriage, fighting and running away, but her parents used force persistently until she submitted to the inevitable. C's new husband gave $50 to her father; C's husband himself received nothing from the other man for B, the cousin toward whom he had acted in the capacity of guardian.

Ordinarily, in an exchange marriage no gifts would have been given, but in this example, a guardian traded his ward to a man whose female relative

fault. "If there was a wise man, he might talk to the man and woman, especially to the man, and tell him not to do that any more. A wise man was usually an older man related to the wife--or it might be an older woman instead." 586 837 684

Sometimes a couple separated for several years and then remarried. [587]

It is said that in a divorce, regardless of who was at fault, the wife almost always kept small children and girls, while older boys might also stay with her to help. A father usually continued contributing something to the support of his children by giving them food and making their clothing. The maternal grandfather was expected to take primary responsibility for the children, however, and the paternal grandfather usually helped if he could. Occasionally, the children's father did nothing for them. 586

Today divorce is most frequently attributed to adultery, and it is often the husband who leaves an erring wife. However, if a wife is having an affair with another man, she may initiate a separation to continue her affair unopposed or to marry her lover. If a man is the offender, his wife usually berates him, but few women leave a husband for this reason. Occasionally, a short separation takes place until the wife puts aside her resentment.

In two recent divorces in which the wife was the offender, the wife clearly has custody of the children and the husband probably gives them some help financially. In both examples, the children visit their fathers for short periods. The paternal grandmother, in one instance, has custody of the youngest child who was her favorite; it is the grandmother rather than the father who has custody. The children in both families were separated among various relatives at the time of the divorce but joined their mother as soon as she remarried.

Divorce for Barrenness

Although Spier (1928, 225) reports that divorce for barrenness was unheard of, at least two divorces in the last decade have been attributed to this. When one of the barren women married again, her second husband left her for the same reason, "married" a Walapai woman one winter, but returned to his Havasupai wife the next summer. The couple has been separated several times. Probably further research would reveal similar cases in the recent past. 586 842

Spier (1928, 225) notes that if a wife were barren, a man took a second woman to have children. A case supporting Spier's statement exists today, although the practice of polygyny officially ceased long ago. This case, noted previously, was of uncertain status for some time. An unmarried girl bore a man several children while the latter was living with his barren wife. Then for a time, it was said that the married couple was divorced. 586 595 842

586 Public opinion favored the divorce and the man's marriage to the girl who
595 had borne his children. While one informant quoted the wife as saying she
842 wanted her husband to marry the other girl, a second informant remarked, "It seems like his wife's hanging onto him when he ought to marry and help her raise his children." As previously noted, the solution seems to be an unofficial polygynous marriage, with the man visiting the women alternately although, at present, he actually lives alone in a separate house and a different location.

Problem of Tallying Divorces

586 It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of divorces
582 among the Havasupai because of the uncertain status of marriage previously described under trial marriage. Numerous cases were recorded of "marriages" which terminated after a few weeks or a few months. Occasionally, matrilocal or patrilocal residence was practiced, but frequently such a marriage occurred during summer employment at Grand Canyon and terminated at the end of the season, or was of equally indefinite character. Individuals often neglected to mention such marriages or denied them if questioned, but occasionally they would admit that they had considered it a real marriage at the time and ended it because they didn't get along. (Spier remarks in a personal communication: "With respect to the frequency of [114] trial marriage and divorce, I am reminded of Elsie Clews Parsons' comment on Zuni, where conditions were much like those of the Havasupai. She called it 'brittle monogamy.'")

581 In the present population, marriages of couples with children appear
586 much more stable when the numerous early divorces are taken into account. However, this statement may be misleading: nearly all married couples have children after a few years together, and most divorces occur in the first months of marriage (following trial marriage) when, obviously, the absence of children is not a factor.

587 At present three childless women are married to men of other tribes,
842 and two men are married to women of other tribes who have borne them no children. Two older women, married for many years, remain barren. [595] One of them is the polygynous wife previously discussed, and the other kept house for her husband's two nearly adult sons and helped care for his grandchildren. Another woman had four children, all of whom died in infancy. [165] A fourth woman had a family by her first husband and may have been beyond childbearing age when she married her present husband. A fifth woman, [586] still young, was divorced by her first husband for barrenness and was once separated from her present husband for the same reason. Three brides of the last five years have had no children as yet. All other Havasupai wives have children by their present husbands.

586 Six divorces involving children have been described previously. In the
587 present population, all divorced mothers save one have remarried, and
842

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 343
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156]
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 588
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 862
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [182]
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

611 origin of the Ha-va-su-pai, is the ab-
614 sence of the Gentile system of descent or organization among them, their society consanguineally being patriarchal; but they claim to be the people of the Coyote, which indicates that one gens has absorbed all the others, or else that they are, as seems more probable, a single gens, which has separated from its original body, and never again developed the separate gentes, as has been the case with other segregated clans among Indians. I incline to this belief from the fact that the Hua-la-pai, to whom their relationship is indisputable, have, as subsequent investigations have shown, the Gentile and Phratral systems, certainly to some extent. And as nearly as I can ascertain this is also the case with the Apache Yumas and Apache Mojaves, who are only other divisions of the same stock. Descent is therefore not through the mother, but
[582] through the father, and marriage, to use the words of my vexed informant, can take place "wherever the one loves the other and the other loves the one, and their wants are the same. Why not?" "We know nothing else," he added, "for our father is the Coyote, and he never told us anything else. How should a Coyote teach his children what he neither knows nor practices himself?"

● 595 They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited, apparently, only by the number he can procure, or by his means for supporting them. These marriages are con-
[586] stant, the only ground for divorce being unfaithfulness, which, with the women of rare occurrence, scarcely exists with
[584] the men, as a cause. Betrothals by purchase or stipulation are common, a girl of seven or eight summers being frequently promised to a man as old as,
[582] or even older than, her father. Marriages are therefore, with the girls, usually very early in life; with the men, late. In consequence of this polygamy, a large number of the men are unmar-

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [582] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have regular property, as with the Pueblos, un- 428 til after puberty, although, on the death 858 of the father, his portable property is 171 inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary. In the absence of a son, the chief's neph- 643 ew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and a dance, celebrating the death of the [727] enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is [624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin- guished from the civil, with them; for 793 the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House," — a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [170] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékúchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete

582 [182] [614] clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the

584 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without

585 ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in

595 421 severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly

768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-

756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,